

The role of British newspapers in framing the public perception and experience of European radio: 1930 to 1939

Introduction

When radio broadcasting first started to develop as a mass medium in the 1920s, it was unique in many ways.¹ Indeed, it had one potential which many earlier media lacked, and that was the ability to cross political borders easily.² At this time most other media existed in a physical form, such as film, newspapers, phonograph records and books, and their movement could be regulated and controlled. And, while attempts to limit radio's transgressions of such borders were made by national governments, it was hard to achieve agreement or success in controlling all cross-border broadcasts, which was especially so in such a geographically compact continent as Europe.³ However, while radio signals could seemingly cross political borders unimpeded, there were national mediators at work who shaped listeners' perceptions and experiences of radio.⁴ Indeed, the discourse they provided created frames for evaluating, understanding and perceiving radio. One of the main mediators at work at this time was the press (including newspapers, listings magazines and journals). This was the main source of information about radio, whether in terms of public debates about this new medium and its societal and cultural role, or in terms of what was worth tuning into and where to find it on the air waves. It was where the public turned to as they sought knowledge, information and an understanding of this new cultural form.⁵

This article will analyse the coverage by British newspapers of radio in the 1930s, to explore how they created a specific frame, a particular way of understanding radio, one which presented it not just as a national service, but as an international medium. The focus of this work is on this decade, as it is at this time that radio establishes itself as a popular mass medium and it is when the newspapers first appoint radio critics and, at least for the popular press, expand their radio coverage and introduce radio columns to their papers.⁶ However, much of the research on radio in Britain in this period of its development, where it has touched on its international tendencies, has tended to focus on commercial broadcasts from Europe aimed at the British audience. Also, conversely, much of this analysis has only obliquely made use of newspaper coverage in its understanding of how such foreign radio broadcasts were framed for the public.⁷ This lack of work on the important role taken by the British press in mediating a view of radio as an international medium at this time, is something this work will seek to rectify. The analysis will, in particular, focus on the role of radio critics, previewers and reviewers as the main cultural intermediaries at work in the newspapers.⁸ Such intermediaries, informed by their shared habitus and cultural values, and

needs of the newspapers they work for, select and shape what the British listener could easily find out about international and European broadcasts and programmes on a daily basis and provide a cultural frame by which to appreciate and understand such output.⁹

Research on British newspapers' coverage of (non-commercial) European radio

Scholarly interest in the reception of European radio in Britain at this time has tended to focus on cross border commercial broadcasts aimed at the UK, including those from Radio Luxembourg. Indeed, Seán Street starts his book on these international incursions by noting that in 1930s Britain, 'radio listening was a battlefield fought over [...] by Public Service interests [...] and Continental-based commercial stations'.¹⁰ His work, overall, concentrates on these commercial attempts to broadcast to the British audience, in particular by Radio Luxembourg and Radio Normandy, which, by agreement, were given little or no coverage by British newspapers at this time,¹¹ but with little discussion of other non-commercial European broadcasts which could also be received in the UK. Other pertinent work which looks at broadcasting across borders occurring in Europe around this time includes that by Suzanne Lommers. In her book, *Europe – On Air*, she focuses on the connection between a political idea of Europe and the attempts by the International Broadcasting Union (IBU), to encourage non-commercial forms of European broadcasting.¹² Lommer's analysis is focused on radio, its technologies, infrastructure, organisation and output rather than on the way newspapers contextualised radio output for the audience and their role in mediating European radio into the national environment. Though, she does briefly mention how Dutch listings magazines 'show us how transnational activities and visions of Europe actually found their way into peoples' homes'.¹³

Other radio-focused research has been undertaken which also relates to international aspects of radio, such as Andreas Fickers' work on the regulatory changes in the 1920s and 1930s that created a stable European broadcasting environment allowing the development of easy-to-use tuners with dials pre-marked with established positions for radio stations transmitting in Europe.¹⁴ This was an important step in helping the average listener to find and tune into stations from around the continent with simple to use radio sets. While work by Pinkerton and Dodds focuses on the use of radio for propaganda purposes between the wars in Europe at a time of heightened political and ideological tensions.¹⁵ David Hendy has also published work on the early developments of radio, where he explores, amongst other things, fears about its international potential and what this might mean for Britain and its worldwide standing.¹⁶

However, while the international nature of radio is explored by a number of scholars working in the area, little of this work focuses on the way European or international radio output, especially from non-commercial broadcasters, are covered by the British press in this period. Indeed, it could be argued more generally that the coverage of radio by the press has not attracted much research interest from the radio field or related fields of study. Where it does appear it is, as Siân Nicholas suggests, ‘mostly for illustrative commentary’.¹⁷ In terms of work coming out of journalism studies, much of this has focused on the way newspapers were changing at this time of heightened competition, rather than specifically analysing the way they covered radio. However, some of this work does touch on developments which do have an important impact on how radio coverage does develop at this time, especially in relation to the popular papers.¹⁸ For example, Mick Temple (2008), Martin Conboy (2002) and Kevin Williams (2010) explore how, in the 1930s, all the papers went through a period of being redesigned, which for the popular press led to a more engaging and entertaining style of coverage, which radio, with its new found popularity, was viewed as being a good fit.¹⁹ Therefore, radio coverage increases for most papers in the 1930s, with most appointing radio critics and, for the popular papers, with most critics gaining their own radio columns. Though, with the competitive tensions and worries existing between the newspapers and the BBC at this time, some of this coverage, especially by the new radio critics, was often very critical of the domestic broadcaster.²⁰

However, a limited amount of work has appeared which does focus more directly on radio criticism, such as Siân Nicholas’s article on the intermediality existing between the press and radio, which explores, in places, the tension which is evident between the two competing media.²¹ Or David Hendy’s analysis of early radio journals like *Wireless World*, which he uses to explore the early narratives appearing about radio.²² Another example is Dan L LeMahieu’s book on British media and culture between the wars where, in one section, he touches on the appointment of radio critics and the position they took in relation to such topics as the role of the BBC, the need for more popular radio programmes and the output of commercial European broadcasters.²³ While offering interesting insights into the role of the press in the coverage of radio, none of these works provides any in-depth analysis of how the press covered non-commercial European stations. Overall, in most work concentrating on the developments happening in radio or the press at this time, there is little systematic analysis of newspapers’ radio coverage, in terms of its schedules, reviews, previews or highlights, and how it covers and mediates non-commercial European stations or their output into the British context.

Approach

In this article, to help explore the way European radio was, at this time, becoming part of a radio frame created by the press, I will focus on analysing the radio coverage provided by the main British national newspapers, including the popular newspapers the *Daily Mirror*, *Daily Express* and *Daily Mail* and the quality papers including the *Daily Telegraph* and *The Times*. National newspapers are the main focus, as these were some of the most influential and most read publications in the 1930s, indeed, by 1935 the main national newspapers, including those listed above, had a circulation of around 10 million a day at a time when the total population was around 37 million.²⁴ The quality newspaper, the *Manchester Guardian*, a provincial paper at the time, will also be included as it did have a national reputation, though, without a national base. Also, it has to be noted, the whole term ‘national newspaper’ is, as Seymour-Ure suggests, rather vague.²⁵ These newspapers, along with other popular and quality papers, played an important role in the formation of public opinion about radio at this time, helped by the high profile of some of the critics.²⁶ The newspapers were one of the few places where daily schedules, highlights, radio columns and reviews would appear, compared to journals and listings magazines which came out weekly or monthly, and some, such as *The Radio Times*, with no foreign coverage at all.

Throughout the analysis the division of popular and quality newspapers will be used as a way of taking into account the different styles, values and associated reader demographics, which act as one set of variables affecting how and why critics, previewers and newspapers covered radio and European radio as they did. The selected newspapers were searched electronically for the chosen decade using, initially, such terms as European radio or wireless, foreign radio or wireless, Broadcasting and programme listings, radio highlights, radio reviews, international radio or wireless, IBU, Radio Luxembourg and Radio Normandy. These searches were used to help locate both radio articles but also pages related to the coverage of radio. Thus the regular forms of radio coverage could be identified, including listings information, highlights, previews, reviews and radio columns, and dedicated ‘radio’ or ‘entertainment’ pages.²⁷ Samples were collected for each paper for one week of each month for every year of this decade. By looking not only at the radio articles, listings information and columns, but also the layout of the page, the relative importance of the radio coverage and its position on the page could be analysed.

The newspaper coverage found was then divided into those located in popular or quality papers, and then into which form it took, listings information, highlights or previews, reviews

or radio columns written by a critic. This was then analysed, taking into account the type of newspaper, their readership and associated values, to explore how European, radio broadcasts and programmes were covered and culturally positioned. In line with a framing type approach, the analysis looked at both what was covered and how, therefore, which stations and types of programmes were written about by the critics and others working at the papers, where this was placed on the page and the way it was presented, for example, in terms of the size of the titles and fonts. The work also explored the language used and the cultural references utilised to analyse how the programmes were written about, how they were evaluated and positioned culturally. This approach allowed a reflection to be made on the main values which seem to be at work informing the selection of programme and their coverage in relation to European radio, how these compare between the papers, and therefore what type of frame or frames were being created by the newspapers and the cultural intermediaries, including the previewers, reviewers and critics.²⁸

Analysis of radio coverage

Radio listings

By the end of the 1920s the radio coverage provided by the national newspapers, in terms of programme listings, came to reinforce an idea of a duality, with their division in most papers of broadcasting into a 'National' and a 'Foreign' service. For example, by 1927 the *Daily Mirror* had divided its listings into those operating in Britain, under the main heading of 'Broadcasting Programmes', and others under the subheading of, 'Continental programmes' or sometimes 'Foreign Programmes',²⁹ while the *Daily Telegraph*'s listings in 1929 put those broadcasting from outside of the UK under the subheading, 'Foreign',³⁰ a division which the *Daily Express* was also following in 1933.³¹ All the newspapers, by the late 1920s and early 1930s, give information about foreign services, including the frequencies on which the stations transmit, where they are located and the title and time of the broadcast of the programmes,³² partly as the public was at this time interested in broadcasts from abroad.³³

The listings, by this time, are often found at the bottom of the page, or to the side, and usually hidden away on a news page. They are not positioned on the page, or within the papers, as a main attraction to draw in the interest of the reader. They are there as information, often to be sought out by the reader. For example, in the *Daily Mirror*, in 1928, the listings would often appear to one side of a page, with most of the page being dominated by news or occasionally a large advert. The top part of the listings covered the national channels while the last small end paragraph was put over to 'Foreign' stations.³⁴ The main

heading of the column was the same size as those used on other pages, while the font used for the listings text was slightly smaller than that used elsewhere. The same could be said for the listings in the other papers, popular and quality, such as *The Times*, *Manchester Guardian*, *Daily Express* and *Daily Mail*.³⁵ However, with the creation of entertainment or radio pages by the popular papers in the 1930s, the listings information became more important. It becomes more of a draw. Therefore, for papers like the *Daily Express* and *Daily Mail*, both the titles of the listings columns and the overall space they took up increases in size, crossing over a number of columns, helping to attract the attention of the reader. However, the balance between home and foreign programmes remains as before, with most coverage being of national programmes and with these appearing at the top of the column(s).³⁶ Foreign coverage is there in the newspapers, but it is positioned as being less important and visible than the national programmes and services.

However, while there are similarities between most papers in the type of information given for the selected foreign channels and programmes, such as the frequencies the stations broadcast on and where they are physically located, there are differences in the overall amount of column space put aside for such coverage and the range of channels included. For example, the *Daily Mirror*'s listings information in the early 1930s mostly covers UK based stations, with a small amount of space put over to European or foreign channels, which often amounted to around six stations or at least some of their output being covered in a rather minimal way. The *Daily Mirror* is, therefore, very selective in the stations it covers.³⁷ This compares to the *Daily Express*'s listings coverage, which is overall five times larger than the *Daily Mirror*'s, and, for the foreign services, fairly extensive, covering 15 stations.³⁸ While the *Daily Telegraph*'s foreign listings are even more extensive covering 27 foreign stations.³⁹

Linked to the problem of how to provide information for numerous European channels, with only limited column space available, a choice also has to be made not only in relation to which stations to cover but how to present their output for the listener. Two different approaches are apparent, with the quality papers providing detailed coverage of the daily output of their selected European channels, such as the *Daily Telegraph* and its selection of 27 radio stations including such stations as Leipzig, Milan, Paris (Eiffel Tower), Vienna and Breslau;⁴⁰ and with others, mostly the popular papers, such as the *Daily Mirror*, creating a daily schedule of selected programmes chosen from a range of European channels. For example, on the 6 June 1938, it provides one day's worth of output, starting at 7.00 with Faust from Leipzig, followed by Aida from Prague at 7.30 and then ending the evening at 10.30 with 'Light Music and Dance Music' from Cologne.⁴¹ While the *Daily Mail*, by the

mid-1930s was, in a similar fashion, providing its own version of a virtual channel, with listings information making up radio output from 1 till 6.25 from around Europe.⁴² Full listings information of all European channels was left to more specialised publications such as *World Radio* (1925-39), which was a BBC publication that covered non-British stations while *The Radio Times* covered the BBC's national output.⁴³

One possible reason for this difference in this listings coverage is that the popular press, aiming at a large mass readership, made up mostly of the working and lower middle classes, was having to provide guidance for listening to a form of radio output, linked to high culture, which many of their readers would not know much about, while the quality papers treated their readers more as discerning listeners who are more capable of selecting what they wish to listen to. Indeed, the readers of quality papers, mostly being middle class, would have the cultural capital to understand the types of programmes that dominated the European airwaves and tended to be covered in the European listings information of such papers. The balance, form and emphasis of the duality, therefore, changes depending on the nature of the paper and its readership. For those readers of popular papers, the amount of European radio coverage is small, and more directed, while for those reading quality papers, it is larger, and more open. By the end of the 1930s, even as tensions rose with Germany's more aggressive political and military stance, all papers continue to have foreign listings information, including those of German stations.⁴⁴ Though, some critics do show themselves to be aware of the impact of these developments on European broadcasts, such as Sydney Moseley who notes in relation to German radio output, the listener 'is no longer charmed by some of the best music in the world [than] a raucous, guttural voice exhorting "Heils!" for some cause or another'.⁴⁵

Programme highlights and previews

For the popular papers, throughout this decade, the radio highlights of the day would usually appear at the top of the page or listings column, though sometimes they would appear in boxes inset within or by the listings. For most papers, highlights appeared not just for the output of the BBC but also for European programmes. For example, on 8 April 1931 the *Daily Mirror* has three boxes, appearing near the listings: one large one for national programmes and two smaller ones for foreign programmes, both of which are entitled 'Best From Abroad', in which nine or so programmes per box are highlighted as worth listening to, including 'Orchestral music from Hilversum at 9.10' and an 'Orchestral Concert from Langenberg at 7.00'.⁴⁶ The fact that the paper offers this guidance, in a prominent way,

alongside national output, suggests that the previewers and critics view some of what was offered by European stations as being of a form and standard that will be of interest to the reader. The highlights appearing in the press for the BBC's output are similar, with drama, classical music, talk and opera frequently appearing, though usually also with highlights of popular forms such as variety, dance music and comedy.⁴⁷ The *Daily Mail* used similar boxes to highlight foreign programmes, placed usually next to the listings. Its choices were similar to those of the *Daily Mirror* and included such choices as, '6.0, Munich: Military Band Concert. 7.10 Königsberg: Beethoven Concert. Soloist: Backhaus. 7.77, Huizen: Concert'.⁴⁸ All popular papers show some interest in what was being broadcast from abroad and provide guidance to their readers, though it was usually more of a cultural mix than that offered by the quality papers, including not only classical concerts and operas but also a limited number of dance music and variety programmes. However, the *Daily Mirror*, from 1937, when it took on a more popular style and format as a tabloid, reduced its overall listings and radio information, including its coverage of European radio. Perhaps because it sought to focus more on the popular programmes which its readers listened to, which mostly included the output of the BBC and little of the more serious output from non-commercial European radio broadcasters.⁴⁹

For quality papers, like the *Manchester Guardian*, programme highlights had been provided since the 1920s. Its long running preview column 'Wireless and Notes' usually appeared at the bottom of a news page, next to the listing information. The majority of the highlighted programmes for this column tended to be a mix of classical music, radio plays, talks, operas and some variety and comedies.⁵⁰ However most, if not all, the coverage of foreign programmes, a little of which appears most days, focuses just on classical music and opera. For example, on 2 April 1930 the column highlights a broadcast from Berne, which would include 'a Donizetti comic opera at eight o'clock'.⁵¹ While in a similar fashion, *The Times* previewer notes, for 24 January 1935, that '[t]his evening there will be [...] a Bach concert from Munich'.⁵² The frame being shaped through such a discourse is not just of a duality, of national and European, but one where certain shared cultural values are being identified and extolled.

In terms of language used within the highlights, it tends to be mostly limited to the title of the work and times of broadcast, though this wording is often placed within a highlight box, which emphasised the importance of the selection. The newspapers would also use categories as a way of informing and guiding the reader, such as 'opera' and 'concert' and, at least for the popular papers, 'dance music' and 'variety'. For the more serious cultural output, such

information is often presented as if the readers should know the production or opera already, though, occasionally, additional information is given. For example, as the Listener, a moniker of the previewer writing for the *Manchester Guardian*, notes, 'Leipzig and Vienna commemorate the anniversary of Flaubert's death with readings from his works, Leipzig at 8 45, Vienna at nine o'clock'.⁵³ Or where *The Times* highlights, 'La Bohème and I Pagliacci will be given to-night from Radio-Paris, Die Fledermaus from Leipzig, and Schumann's First Symphony and Mozart's Piano Concerto in E Flat from Bucharest'.⁵⁴ The language is full of cultural references which relate to serious elite culture and its related history; those with the right cultural capital will know what this music is, they will understand who Flaubert is, or which Mozart's Piano Concerto is in E Flat, and therefore will know what these performances will probably be like. Or where the *Daily Telegraph* highlights, Rome offering "'Der Freischütz" (7.50pm). Piano recitals are given by Steuermann from Vienna (9.10) and William Kempff from Budapest (9.20)'.⁵⁵ Again, those with the right cultural background will know the connections between the music, the countries and cities where the broadcasts are coming from, and the reputation of the performers working in such cities, such as Leipzig being the home of Bach or, indeed, who Steuermann is.

Reviews and radio columns

As radio begins to be accepted as a popular cultural form, so radio reviews slowly became an established part of the quality papers' radio coverage, though the *Daily Telegraph*, without a dedicated radio critic till the 1970s, tended to have less of them than the *Manchester Guardian* and *The Times*. Such reviews, traditionally, were written after the broadcast and provided a critical reflection on the programme or programmes. However, a radio review is, at least until recently, different to those written for other cultural forms. Usually a review focuses on a performance, show or artefact that the reader might be able to view, read or watch, though few often do. However, as radio attracted mass audiences, at this time, the review would usually be about a programme many people have heard. It is therefore written as an attempt to summarise a view on the performance, to create a collective shared understanding. As Jonah Barrington notes, 'the radio critic has to 'think *with* the listening world, and *for* the listening world'.⁵⁶ However, as most readers would listen-in to BBC productions, or if from a European source, to Radio Luxembourg or Radio Normandy which were not covered by the newspapers at this time, reading a critique of a European programme from a non-commercial broadcaster might not be of that much interest to most of the readers, most of whom would not have listened to it. Also, with the tendency of the highlighted

European programmes to be forms of classical music or operas, any review would tend partly to be about a known quantity, a piece of music the listener already knows, with only a limited critique offered in the review on something new, the actual performance – the review would therefore often be more about the music than the radio programme. This compares to a review of a BBC original production, whether variety or a radio drama, which would be able to bring more to bear on something new that resonates culturally with the reader. Therefore, almost all of the reviews of this time focus on the output of the BBC.

Likewise, within the columns of the radio critics working for the more popular papers, those like Jonah Barrington, Archie de Bear, Collie Knox and Sydney Moseley, there are few references to European broadcasts or programmes. Most of their columns focus on popular BBC programmes, providing criticism of the BBC as an organisation and gossip from behind the scenes. Jonah Barrington suggests that the role of the radio critic working for the British press is to stand ‘between [the] B.B.C. monopoly on the one hand, and the majority wishes of listeners on the other’.⁵⁷ Therefore most of his work, and that of other critics, focuses on what is happening in the British broadcasting industry and related services, not on what is happening in another nation and its broadcasting system. As with the critic and reviewer working for the quality papers, they want and need to write about something which resonates with most of their readers, whether gossip about a British radio actor or a programme which has been broadcast by the BBC. Therefore, there is a mismatch, between the highlights and listings and how these frame European radio as something worth listening to, compared to how the reviewers and radio critics write about radio through the review or radio column form, where European programmes are more or less absent.

Conclusion: Framing European radio for British audiences

By the 1930s, as radio emerged as one of the main forms of mass media, the press, the dominant news medium of the time, was one of the main ways people could follow how radio was developing, what was being broadcast, when and what the critics felt about its output. The public did not have time to listen to all the stations being broadcast. Instead they relied on the press and associated journals to provide information and guidance. For example, the sales of *The Radio Times*, the BBC’s listings magazine, took off in the 1930s as the public sought more information about what was being broadcast, though it did not cover European broadcasts.⁵⁸ Press coverage and listings information was increasingly viewed as an important resource by members of the public and also by the press itself, who by the 1930s had appointed critics and expanded the radio coverage available.

In this way, those working for the press came to operate as cultural intermediaries, helping the public to understand, evaluate and value radio. In doing this they helped to create a discursive frame, or frames, which define radio in certain ways for the public, helping the reader and listener to come to terms with this ephemeral form, one that happened to cross borders easily. The press provided certainty; knowledge of what is out there, what is worth listening to and searching out. One important aspect of one of the first frames it creates, which exists at least until the Second World War, is the way radio is presented in terms of a duality, one made up of both national and foreign services.

Analysing such a frame shows the way home and foreign services were presented in a similar way, through the listings information and highlights, with European broadcasters being seen as offering similar high cultural output as the BBC, but also differently, with popular and quality papers differing on the amount of coverage and detail provided. This frame was shaped by the previewer's and critic's own values and cultural capital, which was often middle class, and who understood the high-end cultural output that was being broadcast from Europe, and who were able to use this knowledge to inform their highlights and previews.⁵⁹ Thus almost all the European highlights and previews were of classical concerts, operas and folk music. This selection was tempered, however, by the need to write for the particular audience of the newspaper, such that the frame presented by the popular papers was very limited and focused on a small number of stations and programmes, sometimes including a few popular programmes such as dance music, helping to provide guidance to the reader on what to listen to. This compares to the more expansive coverage of the quality papers, which focused more on the high cultural output from Europe and treated its readers as discerning listeners. However, there were also differences in the frame when compared between the listings and highlights coverage and the reviews and radio columns, where the critics focused less on European output and more on national elements, such as everyday gossip about British radio stars, criticisms of the BBC and critiques of the programmes.

The frame(s) presented by the press were, as frames always are, shaped by the needs of particular organisations, dominant values and the context of the time. As with all organisations their needs are complex and not always directed with one purpose. Therefore, on one hand, the newspapers worried about the power of the BBC wanted their critics to provide criticism of its national operations.⁶⁰ Therefore, one emphasis of the frame being presented to the public was dominated by this national focus. However, on the other hand, the newspapers also wanted to show that there were alternatives to the BBC's output, ones which offered similar types of coverage. Therefore they also supported an element within the frame

which presented radio as being a duality, as being both national and international in nature, but without the inclusion of commercial European stations which were seen as undesirable forms of competition. This fame of radio, of it being both national and international, but with more of a focus on the national elements, continued to be supported until the outbreak of war, when coverage of European stations disappeared as Germany invaded and took control of Europe and its radio stations.

¹ Throughout this article I will use the term radio communication or radio broadcasting to refer to this developing communication device and medium. Though, in the 1920s and 1930s it was often referred to in the UK as wireless or wireless broadcasting. For more information on how the term radio was adopted see: Coe, *Wireless Radio*, 3.

² Hendy, *Global Age*, 62; Price, *Television*, 6.

³ Price, *Television*, 6.

⁴ For more on frames see: Ziem, *Frames of Understanding*, 10-28.

⁵ Rixon, 'Radio and Popular Journalism,' 23-36.

⁶ Nicholas, 'Media History,' 383-7; though it must be noted that radio had been covered for some time by radio journals such as *Wireless World* and *Modern Wireless* (Hendy, 'Edwardian Wireless,' 76-89), some of which provided listings information and employed radio critics. However, by the 1930s, their readerships were falling and for most people the newspapers and *The Radio Times* became the main places to find out about radio: Street, *A to Z of British Radio*, 151.

⁷ Especially as newspapers had agreed by the early 1930s not to cover the output of the main commercial European broadcasters see, Street, *Crossing the Ether*, 257.

⁸ Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 235-40.

⁹ The concept of the frame will be used here to mean, 'a pattern of [radio] coverage that structures and organises the meaning of a topic [radio] over time' for the public': D'Angelo, 'Framing: Media Frames,' 636.

¹⁰ Street, *Crossing the Ether*, 7.

¹¹ Briggs, *Golden Age*, 359.

¹² Lommers, *Europe - on Air*.

¹³ Lommers, *Europe - on Air*, 40.

¹⁴ Fickers, 'Radio Dial,' 411-39.

¹⁵ Pinkerton and Dodds, 'Radio geopolitics,' 10-27.

¹⁶ Hendy, 'Edwardian Wireless,' 76-89.

¹⁷ Nicholas, 'Media History,' 381.

¹⁸ Conboy, *The Press*; Temple, *The British Press*; Williams, *Read All About It!*.

¹⁹ As Barrington notes when offered the position as radio critic to the *Daily Express* by Arthur Christiansen. Barrington, *Master of None*, 165-9.

²⁰ Nicholas, 'Media History,' 386-7.

²¹ Nicholas, 'Media History,' 379-94.

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- ²² Hendy, 'Edwardian Wireless,' 76-89.
- ²³ LeMahieu, *Culture for Democracy*, 274-7.
- ²⁴ Jeffery and McClelland, 'A World fit to live in,' 29; GB Historical GIS, *Vision of Britain through Time*.
- ²⁵ Seymour-Ure, *British Press and Broadcasting*, 19.
- ²⁶ Nicholas points out how some were positioned by the papers as minor celebrities, 'Media History,' 386.
- ²⁷ Nicholas, 'Media History,' 386.
- ²⁸ Entman, 'Framing,' 293-300.
- ²⁹ *Daily Mirror*, 20 June 1927: 21.
- ³⁰ *Daily Telegraph*, 11 December 1929: 9.
- ³¹ *Daily Express*, 11 December 1933: 13.
- ³² *Daily Mail*, 20 March 1929: 20.
- ³³ Street, *Crossing the Ether*, 34.
- ³⁴ *Daily Mirror*, 29 October 1928: 24.
- ³⁵ *The Times*, 22 October 1929: 8; *Manchester Guardian*, 27 June 1929: 12; *Daily Express*, 31 October 1929: 13; *Daily Mail*, 31 January 1929: 14.
- ³⁶ For example: *Daily Express*, 22 October 1935: 23; *Daily Mail*, 11 January 1935: 17.
- ³⁷ *Daily Mirror*, 26 March 1931: 16.
- ³⁸ *Daily Express*, 28 October 1930: 19.
- ³⁹ *Daily Telegraph*, 1 January 1934: 9; while *The Times* provided coverage of 22 stations on the 13 February 1935: 17.
- ⁴⁰ *Daily Telegraph*, 19 December 1932: 6.
- ⁴¹ *Daily Mirror*, 6 June 1938: 15.
- ⁴² *Daily Mail*, 1 January 1935: 17.
- ⁴³ Street, *Crossing the Ether*, 148-9.
- ⁴⁴ Listener, *Manchester Guardian*, 12 August 1939: 2; *The Times*, 17 January 1939: 10; Gander, 'Jack Warner at the Piano,' 7; *Daily Mail*, 13 January 1939: 3; *Daily Express*, 31 August 1938: 15.
- ⁴⁵ Moseley, *Broadcasting in My Time*, 185.
- ⁴⁶ *Daily Mirror*, 8 April 1931: 14.
- ⁴⁷ For example, the *Daily Mail* recommended four BBC programmes including a military band, a radio play, classical music and variety, 22 March 1935: 21.
- ⁴⁸ *Daily Mail*, 11 January 1935: 17.
- ⁴⁹ While its readers would have also listened to programmes from Radio Luxembourg and Radio Normandy, these were not covered by papers like the *Daily Mirror*.
- ⁵⁰ See, for example, 'Wireless Notes and Programmes', *Manchester Guardian* 6 April 1936: 2, which highlights a piano recital, two radio plays, an orchestral concert and a variety programme.
- ⁵¹ Listener, *Manchester Guardian*, 2 April 1930: 14.
- ⁵² *The Times*, 24 January 1935: 10.
- ⁵³ Listener, *Manchester Guardian*, 7 May 1930: 12.
- ⁵⁴ *The Times*, 25 February 1936: 19.
- ⁵⁵ *Daily Telegraph*, 9 November 1935: 8.
- ⁵⁶ Emphasis in original. Barrington, *Master of None*, 183.
- ⁵⁷ Barrington, *Master of None*, 183.
- ⁵⁸ Crisell, *British Broadcasting*, 38.
- ⁵⁹ For example, Collie Knox went to private school (Knox, 1939), Mary Crozier's (*Guardian* radio critic) father was editor of the *Manchester Guardian* and she went to a private school

(Crozier, 2008), Barrington and Moseley both trained to be accountants and went to good colleges and schools (Barrington 1948; Moseley, 1960).

⁶⁰ Nicholas, 'All the News that's Fit to Broadcast,' 121-38.

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